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EAST ZONE OPINION
- As of September 1956

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RESEARCH STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
AMERICAN EMBASSY

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INTRODUCTION

Taking advantage of the pulling power of the Berlin Industrial Trade Fair which brought thousands of East German residents into West Berlin, the Research Staff conducted a survey among a sample of such visitors to the Fair Grounds.

Instead of the usual probability sample, a quota sample was utilized since it was the only type possible under existing conditions. Two major controls (sex and geographical distribution) were exercised in order to achieve the proper proportions in the sample. The reader should remember, however, that the sample had to face two considerable shortcomings (a) the absence of sufficient up-to-date statistics concerning population characteristics and (b) the bias which can be assumed to exist in those East Zone Germans who came to the West and allowed themselves to be interviewed. With respect to the latter point, it is interesting to note that the refusal rate (14%) is no higher than the normal mortality rate when interviewing is conducted in West Germany.

Whatever shortcomings may be involved in the use of this ample of 500 East German adults, 18 years of age or older, trend comparisons may be considered rather valid since the occasion and the procedure were exactly the same this year as last year.

The purpose of the study was to ascertain East Zone attitudes on four subjects:

1. General conditions in the East Zone
2. Reunification
3. Conscription in the Federal Republic
4. Confidence in Chancellor Adenauer

Interviewing was conducted during the entire duration of the Fair, namely from September 16 through 30, 1956, and was performed by DIVO Gessellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Farnkfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

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SUMMARY

While a majority of the East Zone respondents said that conditions have not improved recently, almost half said that they had. Those seeing an improvement mainly cited living conditions - improved food situation, and better supply of consumer goods. Regardless of what has happened, large majorities do not believe DDR promises of future improvements, nor do they believe that the de-Stalinization line will make the system more palatable.

On questions concerning reunification, the East Germans register a more Western point of view than the West Germans. They are more likely to blame the East for Germany's division; they are more likely to feel a reunified Germany should be on the side of the West; and they are likely to accept restrictions on the democratic quality of a reunfied Germany.

The fact of West German conscription is well known in the East Zone. And although one out of four sees it as a possible danger for reunification, a majority approves of its introduction in the Federal Republic.

Chancellor Adenauer's prestige among the East Germans is even higher than it is in the Federal Republic. East Germans also tend to be considerably more satisfied than West Germans with the way he is dealing with the problem of German reunification.

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I. Conditions in the East Zone

MAJORITY SAY CONDITIONS IN EAST GERMANY HAVE NOT IMPROVED RECENTLY....

While a majority of East Zone residents are of the opinion that conditions in general have not improved recently (53%), a sizeable minority ((47%) feel that some improvement has taken place. Most of those who feel that there has been some improvement mention either the food situation or an improved supply of consumer goods.

"As far as you can judge, would you say that conditions in East Germany have improved recently, or wouldn't you say so?"

	East Zoners (500)
Yes	47%
No	53
No opinion	*
	100%

IF "Yes":
"Of what are you thinking?"

SUMMARY TABLE

In the Economic Sector	(47%)	
Improved supply of consumer goods		21%
Improved food situation		20
Price reductions		3
Better supply of raw materials		1
Other answers		3
In the Political Sector	(7%)	
More political freedom		7
Other answers		*
Miscellaneous Comments	(8%)	
Facilitated tourist traffic		4
Increased social benefits		1
Other answers		3
No opinion, No answer	(1%)	
	64%@	

* Less than one half of one percent
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

COMMENTS IN DETAIL....

"As far as you can judge, would you say that conditions in East Germany have improved recently, or wouldn't you say so?"

IF "Yes":
"Of what are you thinking?"

	East Zoners
IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR	(47%)
Improved supply of consumer goods:	21%

"You can buy more consumer goods than a while ago."
"The production of industrial goods for the civilian sector has increased."
"There is a larger supply of consumer goods."
"More goods are offered. Take clothing and chinaware, for example."
"There's a better chance now to get some decent clothing."
"Consumer goods are of better quality now."
"The quality of textiles and shoes has improved."

Improved food situation:	20

"There's a more generous allotment of food rations. One needn't starve any more."
"I'm thinking of the larger supply of goods, such as food items, even if they are only to be had in the HO shops."
"Meat, sausages and wines offered in the shops are of good quality."
"I'm thinking of our ampler diet. We get better foods and even tropical fruit."
"I think that the food provisioning has improved."
"We get tropical fruit and jam from China."

Price reductions:	3

"Prices went down. Prices for consumer goods were reduced."
"Textile prices were lowered."
"The food in the HO is not so expensived any more.

Better supply of raw materials:	1

"I now can get materials for my workshop."
"Raw material is procured in sufficient quantities now."

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	East Zoners
Other answers:	3%

"I'm thinking of the coal supply. We've already got all our winter coal."
"The electric current is not switched off so often any more."
"The government's attituted towards the workers has changed. Speed-up methods are no longer used so frequently and the work quotas also have not been increased for a long time."

IN THE POLITICAL SECTOR	(7%)
More Political freedom:	7

"One can be a little bolder in speaking up. There's not so much syping any more."
"I think that it is less risky now for people to have a frank word with a neighbor in order to back him up or to strengthen the spirit of solidarity."
"Now, we may also voice some criticisms when there's something wrong with the HO."
"Ever sinee Stalin's condemnation, they have tried to be fairer. You may even venture a frank word."
"The individual has been granted more freedom in the meantime."

Other answers:	*

"The pressure exerted on people to make them join the People's Army has eased off."

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS	(8%)
Facilitated tourist traffic:	4

"It's easier now to cross the borders. The control measures are not so strict any more."
"We find it easier now to go to Berlin."
"When you come out of Western Germany or out of West Berlin, the checking of luggage is not done so thoroughly any more."

Increased social benefits:	1

"I'm thinking of social benefits. In case of sickness the health insurance companies no longer withhold benefits for three days."

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* Less than one half of one percent.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	East Zoners
Other answers:	3%

"We can get parcels from the West; they are not opened any more."
"The quality of music and films has improved."
"I found that at least some of the people valuable to the community stay here now."
"Our entire living conditions have stabilized."
"Everything has improved."

NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	(1%)
	64%©

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FOOD SITUATION CONSIDERED LEAST IMPROVED OF THREE LEADING AREAS....

Not knowing in advance what would turn up among the illustrations of improved conditions cited in response to the open-end query of the preceding question, a separate question had been prepared for all respondents. This second query of particular interest to those studying East German developments, focused attention on the three areas with which Communist propaganda has been most concerned recently - the food situation, legal conditions, and the responsiblity of local authorities.

Roughly one third of all respondents agreed that improvements had occurred in each of the questioned areas. Perhaps of more significance, however, is the finding that almost two out of three (63%) say there has been no improvement in the food situation, while around one half say there has been no improvement in legal conditions (57%), or in the responsibilities granted local authorities (47%).

The factor accounting for the difference between the 63% replying negatively about food conditions and the 51% and 47% making the same reply concerning the other two areas seems to be that of "familiarity". That is, everyone knows from first-hand experience whether food conditions have improved or not (note that only 1% have "no opinion"). When it came to legal conditions or authority of local officials, the percentage with "no opinion" went up to 17% and 15%.

FOOD SITUATION MOST IMPORTANT DETERMINANT IN ASSESSING THE GENERAL SITUATION...

The importance of the food situation in the thinking of the people from the East Zone, already indicated in the previous section, is further underscored as a result of the following cross-tabulation.

The answers of those people who thought that the food situation had or had not improved were compared with their answers concerning the general situation in East Germany. Similar cross-tabulations were made concerning legal conditions, and the responsibilities of local authorities and answers about the general situation. The resulting tables make it quite clear that if people think that the food situation has improved, they are much more likely to feel that things in general have improved. Whereas, if they feel that the food situation has <u>not</u> improved, they will be more likely

to say than nothing has improved. For example, 84% of those who said that the food area had improved also had replied that the general situation was better, whereas, if they had replied that the food situation had not improved, then 74% also answered that general conditions were not better.

		Have improvements occurred in -					
		Food Situation		Legal Conditions		Responsibility of local authorities	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Have general conditions improved?	Yes	84%	26%	61%	35%	62%	34%
	No	16	74	39	65	38	66
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Naturally, while there was some tendency for those who felt that legal conditions or the responsibility granted local authorities had improved to also feel that general conditions had improved, this relationship was not as great as that between the food situation and general conditions.

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MAJORITIES DO NOT BELIEVE DDR PROMISES OF IMPROVEMENTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE....

In spite of the fact that roughly one third (on a direct question) felt that there had been some improvement lately in the areas of food, legal conditions, or authority of local officials, majorities of the East Germans appear to have little hope that conditions will improve in the next six months as the government of the DDR has promised. This lack of confidence is especially noteworthy conderning the food situation, while somewhat smaller majorities answered that they did not expect to see improvements as regards legal conditions or the responsibilities of local officials.

"Do you think that during the next six months there will be improvements in these sectors, as the government of the DDR promises?"

	East Zoners		
	Will improve	Will not improve	No opinion
Food situation	22%	66%	12%..100%
Legal conditions	18	58	24
Local authorities	25	56	19

EAST GERMANS EVEN MORE CERTAIN THAN WEST GERMANS THAT DE-STALINIZATION HAS NOT RID SOVIET SYSTEM OF INHUMANITIES. REJECT CULTURAL EXCHANGE....

When in May 1956 a cross-section of the West German population was asked if the destruction of the Stalin myth showed that the Soviets were ridding their political system of the inhumanities which had become the rule under Stalin, only about a third (36%) thought that this was not so. A similar sized group (37%) did not know what to think.

Among the East Germans, however, while three out of ten (as in West Germany) agreed with the view, a majority (55%) answered that the statement was not correct.

One should note the greater tendency of the West Germans to accept the Russian explanation of the purpose of their cultural exchange program, than is the case among East Germans. A plurality of the West Germans (40%) accept, as against a majority (55%) of the East Germans who reject the innocent explanation that the sole aim of the Russian cultural exchange is to impart to other nations a better understanding of Russian culture.

"Please tell me how you feel about the following opinions: Do you believe that this assertion is correct or not?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)			West German Cross-Section May 1956 (1843)		
	Correct	Not correct	No opinion	Correct	Not correct	No opinion
The destruction of the Stalin myth shows that the Soviets are ridding their political system of the inhumanities which had become the rule under Stalin.	30%	55%	15%..100%	27%	36%	37%..100%
The sole aim of the cultural exchange recently initiated by the Russians is to impart to other nations a better understanding of Russian culture.	29	53	18	40	26	34

II. German Reunification

EAST GERMANS CLEARLY PLACE BLAME FOR DIVIDED GERMANY ON THE EAST....

There appears to be a slightly greater tendency among the East Germans than among the West Germans to put the blame for a divided Germany on the East. There is both a small increase in the size of the majority blaming the East (57% as against 53%) and a very minor decrease in the percentage blaming the West (3% as against 5%).

"In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame for Germany still being divided: the West or the East?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)	West Germany Cross-Section May 1956 (1843)
West	3%	5%
East	57	52
Both equally to blame (volunteered)	36	27
No opinion	4	16
	100%	100%

DECREASED MAJORITY NOW CONSIDERS REUNIFICATION MORE LIKELY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN POWERS AND RUSSIA....

In 1955 over three fourths of the East Zone respondents (78%) felt that reunification would be achieved through negotiations between the Western powers and Russia rather than through negotiations between the West German government and the DDR. This year only two thirds (67%) were of this opinion, while the percentage agreeing that it was more likely to occur as a result of direct East West German negotiations went up from 18% to 23%.

"Which way, do you think, reunification is more likely to be achieved: through negotiations between the West German Federal Government and the DDR, or through negotiations between the Western Powers and Russia?"

	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair 1956 (500)	East Zone Visitors to West Berlin Industrial Fair 1955 (201)
Through negotiations between the West German Government and the DDR	23%	18%
Through negotiations between the Western Powers and Russia	67	78
No opinion	10	4
	100%	100%

EAST GERMAN OPINION DIFFERS FROM WEST OVER LIKELIHOOD OF RUSSIAN AGREEMENT TO REUNIFICATION....

While the West German population was evenly divided over the prospect that the Russians would agree to re-unification if Germany did not join a Western military alliance, a majority of the East Zoners (56%) feel that such an agreement would not help.

"Please tell me now you feel about the following opinions. Do you believe that this assertion [illegible], or not?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)			West German Cross-Section May 1956 (1843)		
	Correct	Not correct	No opinion	Correct	Not correct	No opinion
The Russians will agree to the re-unification of Germany provided all-Germany does not join a Western military alliance	34%	56%	10%..100%	35%	35%	30%..100%

MOST RESPONDENTS FEEL REUNIFICATION NOT AROUND THE CORNER....

Opinion seems to be well divided concerning the amount of time it will take to achieve reunification. While less than one fourth of the respondents (22%) were optimistic enough to think it would be achieved within the next two years, just over a fourth (26%) put it off until sometime in the next three to five years.

It is interesting to note that the most frequent reply put off reunification "even longer" than 10 years (32%). When this extreme group of "pessimists" is added to those who felt reunification would occur within five to ten years (11%), the resulting total is almost as large as the total feeling it would take place in less than five years.

"How long, do you think, it will take until reunification occurs? Do you believe we will achieve reunification within the next 1 to 2 years, 3 to 5 years, within the next 5 to 10 years, or do you believe it will take even longer?"

	East Zoners	
Within the next 1 to 2 years	22%	48
Within the next 3 to 5 years	26	
Within the next 5 to 10 years	11	43
Will take even longer	32	
No opinion	9	
	100%	

EVEN GREATER DESIRE FOR A REUNITED GERMANY TO BE ON THE SIDE OF THE WEST....

The last time the West German population was asked whether West Germany should be on the side of the East or the West (May 1956), a simple majority chose the West (54%). However, when the East Germans were asked where a reunited Germany should stand, even after years of communist propaganda, the overwhelming reply was "the West" (64%). Thus, they have made clear a conclusion hinted at by replies to many other questions - namely, the East Zone Germans are even more pro-West than West Germans.

Common to both West and East Germans is a core of three out of ten who clearly indicate "neutralist" tendencies.

"Do you think that a reunited Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)	West German Cross-Section May 1956** (1843)
Side of the West	64%	54%
Side of the East	2	1
Neither side	32	31
Don't know	2	14
	100%	100%

** In May 1956 the question read as follows: "At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

WEST GERMAN "NEUTRALISTS" MORE NEUTRAL THAN THOSE IN EAST GERMANY....

As noted above, there seems to be a large core of people with neutralist tendencies in West Germany (45%) as well as in East Germany (34%). What is interesting about these two groups is not their different size but their different nature.

Both groups were asked a follow-up question to determine whether or not choosing sides meant keeping aloof from military alliances or a desire to keep isolated from both sides. The response of the East German "neutralists" was found to be significantly different from that previously made by a similar group of West Germans.

Among those West Germans who would not choose between the West or the East, less than half indicated that they would have West Germany only stay aloof from military alliances. Among the East German "neutralists" on the other hand, more than two thirds made this reply as their desire for a reunited Germany. This difference between the two groups is a further reflection of the greater uncertainty among the West Germans.

> "Do you think that a reunited Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"
>
> IF "Neither side" or "Don't know":
> "Do you mean to say we should only stay out of military alliances or would you prefer that Germany have no dealings with either side, neither in the political, economic or cultural sector?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)			West German Cross-section May 1956** (1843)		
Stay out of military alliances only	23%	=	68%	21%	=	47%
Have no dealings with either side	8	=	24	11	=	24
No opinion	3	=	8	13	=	29
	34%	=	100%	45%	=	100%

** In May 1956 the question read as follows: "At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

EAST ZONE EVEN MORE EMPHATIC IN REJECTING COMMUNIST GAMBITS ON REUNIFICATION...

A cross-section of the West German population was recently asked whether they would be willing to accept certain things in order to achieve immediate reunification. While tending to reject all four conditions, clear majorities rejected only two of the four.

Among the East Germans, on the other hand, although the percentages accepting the four conditions are almost identical to those found among the West Germans, between seven and nine out of ten reject each item, once again it must be pointed out that the East Germans are not subject to the indecision that is common among West Germans. In West Germany, one person out of four has no opinion concerning these possible conditions whereas in the Eastern part of Germany, less than one person out of twelve is undecided.

"Now I would like to ask you a few questions as to whether you would be willing to accept the following things as part of the price for reunification at the present time?"

	East Zoners Sept.1956 (500)			West German Cross-Section Aug. 1956 (1784)		
	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion
Would you, in order to achieve reunification, recognize the present leaders of the East Zone as conferees, or wouldn't you?	25%	72%	2%...100%	30%	44%	26%..100%
Would you be willing, for the sake of reunification, to accept the present leaders of the East Zone government as members of an all-German government or wouldn't you?	25	70	5	23	49	28
And would you be willing, for the sake of reunification, to accept some other non-democratic form of government, or wouldn't you?	13	79	8	8	65	27
And would you be willing, for the sake of reunification at the present time, to accept an all-German election which would not be as free as those in West Germany, or wouldn't you?	8	88	4	11	64	25

III. West German Rearmament

THREE QUARTERS OF EAST ZONE RESIDENTS ARE AWARE OF CONSCRIPTION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC....

Awareness of universal conscription in the Federal Republic appears to be fairly wide spread in the East Zone. Three fourths of all respondents interviewed stated that they know about it. Considering the lengths which the East Zone regime has gone to denounce this action by the Federal Republic, one may be surprised that the figure is not higher.

"Do you know whether universal conscription has been reintroduced in the Federal Republic, or not?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956
Yes	75%
No	17
No opinion	8
	100%

FEWER THAN ONE OUT OF FOUR SEE CONSCRIPTION AS A DANGER TO GERMAN REUNIFICATION

After informing that quarter of the sample not aware that the conscription law had indeed been passed in West Germany, respondents were then asked whether or not they saw any danger for reunification in this measure. Approximately three fourths said they saw no danger while less than one fourth said that they did. All this despite extensive East Zone propaganda holding up West German rearmament as a major stumbling block to German reunification.

"Do you see in the introduction of military service in the Federal Republic a danger for the reunification of Germany, or don't you?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956
Yes	23%
No	73
No opinion	4
	100%

NOT ALL OF THOSE SEEING CONSCRIPTION AS A DANGER TO REUNIFICATION PARROT EAST ZONE PROPAGANDA.....

Those who felt that some danger to German reunification might result from universal conscription were queried for their reasons. M st of the reasons mentioned reflected some degree of acceptance of the official East Zone propaganda line, such as the increased possibility of war, or that it further divides Germany. However, a sizeable proportion of the reasons given indicate that the respondent does not accept the East Zone propaganda.

IF "Yes":
"In what respect do you think military service in the Federal Republic endangers Germany's reunification?"

SUMMARY TABLE

Reasons for accepting the East Zone propaganda line	(15%)	
Conscription increases the danger of war		6
Conscription enhances exisiting differences		5
It serves as a cause for the introduction of conscription in East Germany		2
The different military systems accentuate the division of Germany		1
This move ties West Germany too close militarily to the West		1
Other reasons		*
Reasons for NOT accepting the East Zone propaganda line	(9%)	
The East is using it as an excuse to withhold reunification		6
Russia likes to claim that conscription means war against her		3
	24%@	

* Less than one half of one percent
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS IN DETAIL....

"Do you see in the introduction of military service in the Federal Republic a danger for the reunification of Germany or don't you?"

IF "Yes":
"In what respect do you think military service in the Federal Republic endangers Germany's reunification?"

	East Zoners
REASONS FOR ACCEPTING THE PROPAGANDA LINE	(15%)
Conscription increases the danger of war:	6%

"I'm afraid there will be another war."
"East and West will no longer explore peaceable ways for bringing about reunification, but will resort to war."
"Once both East and West Germany have an army, they'll wage war against each other instead of negotiating peacefully."
"Rearmament always means war and we do not want war. If that came to pass, there would be no hope for reunification any more. Everything would then be lost."

Conscription enhances existing differences:	5

"It means a wedge has been driven between East and West, and so negotiations will be made impossible."
"The situation slowly comes to a head. Both parties cling to their point of view ever more obstinately, and so hope for reunification wanes."
"This new development will serve to widen the gap between Germans in East and West."
"Both parties will now doggedly adhere to their opinions, and so prospects for reunification become ever dimmer."

This move serves as a cause to introduce universal conscription in the East Zone:	2

"The introduction of military service in the West gives the East the right to raise a conscript army, too. And after that, neither of the two parties will ever give way."
"It stands to reason that now the East will inaugurate military service, too. And then all chances for reunification will be spoiled."
"Now the East had an argument for calling up young men, too."

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East Zoners

The different military conceptions - conscription in the West and voluntary military service in the East - accentuate the division of Germany: 1%

"In the DDR there is no conscription, therefore, the Party can always say that two such different systems cannot come together."
"through conscription on the one side and a voluntary system on the other, reunification is hindered. It is just like the two currency systems."

This move ties West Germany too close militarily to the West: 1

"This move has tied West Germany too closely to the Western military alliance. It is a fact which aggravates the Russians."
"West Germany should keep out of military alliances. Only if we are completely isolated can we hope to achieve reunification."

Other answers: *

"When all over the world people talk about doing away with military forces for good, the Germans go right ahead with admitting former members of the SS to their new army. Of course, that provokes every peace-loving citizen."

REASONS FOR NOT ACCEPTING THE PROPAGANDA LINE (9%)

The East uses it as an excuse to withhold reunification: 6

"The Russians are dead set against a unified Germany and this move has provided them with a new card and a new excuse for obstructing reunification."
"The East has pounced on this issue, and they shape their policy accordingly, of course, I realize that it's actually we in the East who started with rearming."
"The introduction of military service in the West provided the Russians once again with an argument to keep harping on. They use it to excuse or explain their delaying tactics in the reunification issue."
"It's due to this new development that the East has stiffened in obstinacy and reproaches the West with having lost all interest in a settlement with the East. That's what they keep hammering into us, in any case."

(Cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one percent.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zoners

Russia likes to claim that conscription means preparation against her: 3%

"The Russians feel threatened by this new development, and that's why they won't cooperate with us."
"The Russians claim that military service in the Western Zone means preparing for war against Russia."
"Now the Ivans have another reason for saying, 'Adenauer and the capitalist government in Bonn are seeking to bring on war'. They try to assure us that West Germany is our real enemy and that we should remain on our own to avoid being involved in a new war."

24%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEST GERMAN CONSCRIPTION APPROVED BY 3 TO 2 MARGIN....

Despite awareness of the "official line" concerning the institution of conscription in the Federal Republic, its introduction is approved by a 3 to 2 margin. When respondents were asked whether they approved or disapproved of the Federal Republic's introduction of universal conscription, 59% answered they did approve, while 37% said they did not. Only 4% had no opinion on the subject.

"Taking everything into consideration do you approve of the Federal Republic having introduced military service, or don't you approve of it?"

	East Zoners
Approve	59%
Don't approve	37
No opinion	4
	100%

NEED FOR PROTECTION CITED MOST OFTEN BY THOSE WHO APPROVE OF UNIVERSAL CONSCRIPTION....

A follow-up question, directed to those who approved of universal conscription in West Germany shows that a majority of the reasons cited point out that the measure is necessary for West Germany's own protection. Another leading reason given was that military service is good for youth (which was found to be a leading reason in West Germany also.)

"Taking everything into consideration, do you approve of the Federal Republic having introduced military service, or don't you approve of it?"

IF "Approve":
"Why do you approve of it?"

SUMMARY TABLE

It is necessary for West Germany's own protection	(44%)	
West Germany also needs military forces for its own protection		21%
The East (Russia) also has military forces		16
The West must protect itself against aggression from the East		7
It is necessary for internal reasons	(19)	
Young people need military training		18
Military forces are needed to maintain peace and order		1
Miscellaneous reasons	(13)	
Every sovereign state has military forces		7
A strong West means protection and a chance of reunification for the East Zone		2
Other reasons		4
	76%@	

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS IN DETAIL....

"Taking everything into consideration, do you approve of the Federal Republic having introduced military service, or don't you approve of it?"

IF "Approve":
"Why do you approve of it?"

	East Zoners
IT IS NECESSARY FOR WEST GERMANY'S OWN PROTECTION	(44%)
Because West Germany also needs military forces for its protection (general answers):	21%

"Why should West Germany remain defenseless? It must be able to protect itself."
"Because West Germany also must be in a position to defend itself against aggressors."
"I approve of military service because West Germany mustn't be defenseless."
"Because West Germany must be able to resist aggression."
"Every country has its own defense forces. Why not West Germany."
"It must have protection in case it is attacked."

Because the East (Russia) also has military forces:	16

"We in the East Zone have had military forces for years. Why shouldn't West Germany raise an army ,too?"
"Since the East Zone is armed, one can't deny the same right to the Western Zone."
"The West can't remain unarmed when the East Zone is raising an army."
"The East Zone has set up an army. Why should the Federal Republic,which is even larger in size,do without soldiers?"
"Russia has a huge army. Wherever you go, you meet Russian soldiers."
"Russia has armed forces, too, after all."

Because the West must protect itself against aggression from the East:	7

"With the Federal Republic unarmed, the Russians will overrun the West."
"West Germany needs protection against the East. I mean, should Russia ever attack the West, they must at least be able to defend themselves, and for an effective defense they need capable soldiers."
"Because West Germany must stand up against the Eastern regime. Force can only be matched by force, and so only a well-armed nation can assert itself."
"I believe that it is important for safety reasons. With the East as an opponent there is no telling what they will do."

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	East Zoners
IT IS NECESSARY FOR INTERNAL REASONS	(19%)
Because young people need military training:	18

"Military service is the best means to teach young people order and discipline."
"Conscription will do a lot of good for West German youth."
"I know by experience what military service does to a young man. I've learned much, and one can only hope that the young hoodlums of today will soon come under strict discipline."
"Military service forms the character."
"I've served eight years as a soldier, and I know that conscription is advantageous for young people. In the army they meet people of all walks of life, and that contributes toward mutual understanding."

Because military forces are necessary to maintain peace and order:	1

"I have thought a lot about it. It is right and necessary that the West Zone should also have military forces to protect the population from catastrophes or internal unrest."
"Because a state must be concerned with the maintenance of peace, and order. They must have an army."

MISCELLANEOUS REASONS	(13)
Because every sovereign state has military forces. Armed forces augment political prestige:	7

"Military forces are a matter of course for a sovereign state, and an army can only be built up by means of conscription."
"Well, it's only natural that every country should have military forces."
"The prestige of a nation demands a powerful army."
"Germany can only draw respect from other nations if it is backed up by strong military forces."

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East Zoners

Because a strong West means protection and a chance of reunification for the East Zone people: 2%

"The introduction of conscription in West Germany gives us strength. West German soldiers will also protect us in the East Zone."
"The stronger the West, the more subdued the East will be."
"A powerful West Germany might induce the Russians to agree to reunification."

Other answers:

"If people in the West consider military service to be necessary, it is all right."
"If it should ever come to reunification, trained soldiers in the East and no soldiers in the West would cause an embarrassing discrepancy."
"Only a system of conscription forces all to serve without regard for occupation status."

76%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. Adenauer's Standing among East Germans

ADENAUER EVEN MORE HIGHLY REGARDED THAN IN THE WEST....

Although Der. Adenauer enjoys high prestige with residents of the Federal Republic, his popularity with residents of the East Zone is even higher. A majority of the East Zoners (56%) as against a plurality of the West Germans (43%) rated Dr. Adenauer highly. Another way of putting the results in order to point up the difference would be to say that according to survey results, nine times as many residents of the East Zone assigned Dr. Adenauer "high" or "very high" prestige as rated him "low" or "very low". In West Germany, however, the ratio was slightly under five to one.

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)		West German Cross-Section Aug.1956 (1784)	
Very high	21%	56%	14%	43%
High	35		29	
Fair	16	29	20	32
Mediocre	13		12	
Low	4	6	5	9
Very low	2		4	
No opinion	9		16	
	100%		100%	

ADENAUER POLICIES ALSO BASIS FOR PRESTIGE AMONG EAST GERMANS....

Those who gave Dr. Adenauer "high" or "very high" prestige are mainly concerned with his policies rather than his personal qualities (56% as against 39%). The leading individual reasons mentioned for according Adenauer high prestige are (in the field of policy) his accomplishment in rebuilding Germany after the war, while among his personal qualities, his superior intelligence and diplomatic skill are the leading reasons.

By and large these reasons are the same as his supporters in West Germany gave some six weeks earlier. There are only minor exceptions to be noted within the major divisions of "policies" or "personal qualities". For example, while roughly two fifths of all answers by East and West Germans concern Adenauer's "personal qualities", 13% in the East mentioned his "intelligence and diplomatic skill", while only 3% in West Germany mentioned this.

"What prestige does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

IF "Very high", "High", (or favorable comments from "Fair", or "Mediocre"):

	East Zoners Sept. 1956	West German Cross-Section Aug. 1956
Policies	(56%)	(40%)
He accomplished Germany's revival after the war	19%	28%
He pursues the right political course	11	-
He furthers the cause of reunification	8	-
He promotes the interests of the East Zone	5	-
He has restored Germany's prestige	4	5
He solved the POW problem	2	3
His policy serves peace	1	1
He refuses to recognise the East Zone government	1	-
Other answers	5	3
Personal Qualities	(39)	(26)
He possesses superior intelligence and great diplomatic skill	13	3
He consistently pursues his policy	9	-
He shows a Christian and humane outlook on life	5	-
He is active and efficient despite his age	6	6
He possesses great personal qualities	-	14
Other answers	6	3
No opinion, no answer	(2)	(5)
	97%@	71%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS IN DETAIL.....

"What prestige does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

IF "Very high", "High", (or favorable comments from "Fair" of "Mediocre"):

	East Zoners Sept. 1956	
	Very high/ High	Fair/ Mediocre
POLICIES	(57%)	(8%)
He accomplished West Germany's revival after the war:	16%	3%

"Under Adenauer's leadership West Germany quickly got back on its feet. It's thanks to him that West Germany once more is a free country as it used to be before 1914."
"Our leading men in the East Zone are no match for Adenauer. While he helped rebuild West Germany, conditions in the East Zone are just as bad as they were back in 1945."
"Adenauer's outstanding achievement is the reconstruction of West Germany."
"Within a short time he led West Germany back on the road to prosperity. It's thanks to Adenauer that people in West Germany today enjoy a high standard of living."
"He is responsible for the economic miracle in West Germany."
"Adenauer deserves the gratitude of his people as he has restored order and has been vital in accelerating the pace of recovery in West Germany as compared to our Zone."

He pursues the right political course and has achieved successes:	9	2

"I feel he's chosen the right political course."
"It seems to me that his course of action is right for us all."
"He has accomplished a great deal, and even if we have to wait longer than expected, we won't get sore at him,"
"He is always objective and does things the proper way."
"As a political leader he has done a very good job."

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	East Zoners Sept. 1956	
	Very high/ High	Fair/ Mediocre
He skillfully furthers the cause of reunficication:	7%	1%
"On the ground of the success he has had so far it is safe to say that he is the only man who can bring about reunification." "Everybody has confidence in the Chancellor. He is more likely to accomplish the reunification of our country than anybody else." "He is the man in whom our hopes rest. We believe that only Adenauer will succeed in reuniting our country." "What is said about Germany's reunification and free elections is exactly what we have at heart."		
He promotes the interests of the East Zone population:	5	*
"We feel that he also attends to the interests of the East Zone population." "Again and again he stands up for the people of the East Zone." "He enjoys great prestige with me because he vigorously defends all-German interests." "He always shows great understanding for us East Zone residents."		
He has restored Germany's prestige in the world:	4	*
"Thanks to the cleverness with which Adenauer handled his country's affairs, the Federal Republic now enjoys great prestige throughout the world." "It's due to him that West Germany is respected once more throughout the world." "Adenauer has helped the Federal Republic to gain international prestige."		
He solved the POW problem:	2	*
"Thanks to him our POWs could return home. It was he who fought for the release of the prisoners of war." "He achieved the release of the prisoners of war." "He was successful in Moscow and so the POWs could return home."		

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* Less than one half of one percent.

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	East Zoners Sept 1956	
	Very high/ High	Fair/ Mediocre
His policy serves peace:	1%	*%
"He tried very hard and actually succeeded in averting war." "The policy he pursues promotes mutual understanding and peace, that's all I know."		
He refuses to recognize the East Zone government:	1	-
"He refuses to recognize the East Zone government, and that's how we feel in our hearts about it." "I approve of Adenauer's coolness toward the Pankow government."		
Other answers:	4	1
"He looks after everybody. Also after the old folks. He sees to it that people either have a chance to earn a livelihood or get a pension." "He was elected by the people in free elections." "This man expends quite an effort to promote European unification." "He gets along well with Eisenhower and Churchill. And these two are outstanding personalities. If they respect Adenauer, it's a proof that he is an able man himself."		
PERSONAL QUALITIES	(33%)	(6%)
He possesses superior intelligence and great diplomatic skill:	10	3
"He is a most skillful diplomat. His thinking is shrewd and entirely logical." "He is a most accomplished diplomat. He did and excellent job in maneuvering his country through the post-war mess." "I think highly of him as I feel he is a most able statesman." "He is intellectually superior to the East Zone politicians." "He is a good, far-seeing, wise old man. One can rely on him always to do the right thing."		

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* Less than one half of one percent.

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	East Zoners Sept. 1956	
	Very high/ high	Fair/ mediocre
He consistently pursues his policy:	8%	1%
"Adenauer has always held to his chosen course. This characteristic is very commendable." "I admire Adenauer's fearlessness. He goes right ahead with some project staunchly defending his point of view." "He enjoys great prestige with me because he unswervingly follows his political course." "He follows a straight course unwaveringly striving for his aim."		
He shows a Christian and humane outlook on life:	5	*
"I have profound respect for this man, for he is pious and trusts in God. He is the only leading statesman who believes in the Lord's omnipotence." "He adheres to Christian and humane principles." "He advocates justice and freedom for everybody."		
He is active and efficient in spite of his age:	4	2
"I think highly of him because he has taken it upon himself to serve as Chancellor although he is an old man. Believe me, that's a burdensome job." "In spite of his age, he is keenly active." "He has sacrificed a whole lifetime to his fellow citizens who as often as not do not appreciate it."		
Other answers:	6	*
"Adenauer is filled with a staunch and true loyalty for his country without wearing his heart on his sleeve." "He is the right man to guide the destiny of the German people." "Although I do not know him personally, I'm sure he is more refined than those guys in Pankow who used to be simple workers. Adenauer is a real gentleman, and that's why we all respect him."		
NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	(1%)	(1%)
	83%@	14%@

* Less than one half of one percent
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

ADENAUER"S CRITICS.....

Adenauer's policies rather than his personality are also the subject of his critics — as was found to be the case of his admirers. Among the East Zoners, those who rated Dr. Adenauer's prestige mainly mentioned his indifference to reunification, and his partiality to the West - reasons that seldom came up among his West German critics. They tended to utilize his remilitarization policy, and claimed that he did not do enough for the common man.

"What prestige does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

IF "Low" or Very low"(or negative comments from "Fair" or "Mediocre"):
"Why does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy ..... prestige with you?"

SUMMARY TABLE

	East Zoners Sept. 1956	West German Cross-S ction Aug. 1956
Criticisms of his Policies	(25%)	(15%)
He does not press reunification	9%	1%
He is too strongly influenced by the West	7	2
He is too dependent on the Catholic Church	4	1
Does not promote East Zone interests	2	-
He consented to remilitarization	2	6
He banned the Communist party	1	-
Does not do enough for the common man	-	5
Personal Criticism	(10)	(9)
He is too autocratic	5	4
He is too old	2	3
He is not firm enough	2	-
Don't like his past	1	-
His character makes him unfit	-	2
Other answers	(4)	(4)
No answer, no opinion	(1)	(5)
	40%@	33%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

COMMENTS IN DETAIL.....

"What prestige does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

IF "Low" or "Very low" (or negative comments from "Fair" or "Mediocre"):

	East Zoners Sept. 1956	
	Fair/ Mediocre	Low/ very low
CRITICISMS OF HIS POLICIES	(18%)	(7%)
He does not press reunification:	7%	2%
"Because he is not interested in reunification." "We East Zone people often can't understand Adenauer's policy. How can he hope to bring about reunification if he only negotiates on the problem with the Western powers?" "Because he thinks that only the Big Powers can bring about reunification; such an attitude only delays a settlement." "He shouldn't flatly reject all approaches of the DDR authorities towards reunification." "I can't understand why he doesn't discuss the reunification problem with his East German counterparts."		
He is too strongly influenced by the West:	5	2
"Because he doesn't work for Germany but for his Western masters." "He only fulfills American wishes. He'd better foucus his energy upon German problems." "He is too strongly devoted to the Americans. He should be more independent." "He too stubbornly sides with the West." "He is inflexible and one-sidedly orientated towards America."		
He is too dependent upon the Catholic Church:	3	1
"Adenauer cares only about Catholics, while we are considered pagans." "He doesn't pursue independent policies but executes what the Catholic Church wants him to do." "The clergy has too strong an influence over him." "As a Catholic he always prefers Catholics to Protestants. I'm a Protestant, that makes me judge so."		

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	East Zoners Sept. 1956	
	Fair/ Mediocre	Low/ Very low
He does not do enough to promote the interests of the East Zone population:	2%	*%
"He doesn't do enough to make things better for us in the East Zone." "Because Adenauer doesn't attend to our interests to a sufficient extent." "He talks big to keep us in good spirits, but he doesn't really worry about our bad situation."		
He consented to remilitarization:	1	1
"He pushed the conscription law through parliament disregarding the repercussions the militarization of the West Zone is bound to have on the East." "I dissapprove of him because he has introduced military service. He aims at war." "Because he rearms West Germany."		
He banned the Communist party:	8	1
"Because the Chancellor prohibited the Communist party." "I don't consider it wise to ban the Communist party. They use this action as a propaganda means over here."		
PERSONAL CRITICISMS	(8%)	(2%)
He is too autocratic:	4	1
"He has grown autocratic. His opinion alone is what counts. He behaves like a dictator." "He is a dictator as Hitler was." "I disapprove of his autocratic tendencies." "He does not yield an inch. Only very seldom does he take advice from other politicians for he never considers the possibility that there might be clever heads among them, too."		
He is too old for his task:	2	*
"We are afraid Dr. Adenauer is too old to occupy such a post." "He doesn't seem to be young enough for his job." "I feel he is too old."		

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* Less than one half of one percent.

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	East Zoners Sept. 1956	
	Fair/ Mediocre	Low/ very low
He is not firm enough:	2%	*%

"I feel he is not resolute enough, take for instance his attitude towards the development of prices."
"He is generally respected, it's true, but he is too yielding."
"He talks big in parliament but doesn't develop enough energy to carry out his promises."

I don't like his past:

"My antipathy dates from the time when he was lord mayor of Cologne. At that time he tended towards separatism and even now in his capacity as Chancellor he hasn't all-German interest in mind."
"I learned every detail of his previous career from doucments and other publications. That's why he enjoys only very low prestige with me. In my eyes he is the prototype of a capitalist's servant with no scruples at all."

OTHER ANSWERS	(4%)	(*%)

"He doesn't enjoy great prestige with me because he refuses to relinquish his post."
"He shows too aggressive an attitude. He should find a way that leads to negotiations with the East."
"He doesn't represent the ideal statesman. I disagree for instance with his reappointing former Nazi big shots."
"He should have found a more favorable solution for the problem of the canalization of the Moselle."

NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	(1)	(-)
	31%@	9%@

* Less than one half of one percent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

EAST GERMANS CONSIDERABLY MORE SATISFIED WITH THE WAY CHANCELLOR ADENAUER IS DEALING WITH REUNIFICATION THAT ARE WEST GERMANS....

Satisfaction with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification is even stronger in East Germany than it is in the Federal Republic. In East Germany, for instance, two people out of every three say they are "very satisfied" or "satisfied" while in West Germany it is about two out of five only who say they are that satisfied.

The basis for this difference is, as previously pointed out, due to the much higher incidence of indecision in the Federal Republic, for while three out of ten in West Germany do not know what to think, there is only one person out of ten in East Germany who has no opinion on the subject.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification? (IF 'Satisfied': Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?) (IF 'Dissatisfied': Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)"

	East Zoners Sept. 1956 (500)		West German Cross-Section Aug. 1956 (1784)	
Very satisfied	11%	43%	25%	66%
Fairly satisfied	32		41	
Dissatisfied	19	26	20	24
Very dissatisfied	7		4	
No opinion	31		10	
	100%		100%	

THOSE DISSATISFIED STRESS CHANCELLOR'S LACK OF INITIATIVE AND RIGID ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EAST .....

The answers to a follow-up question directed toward those East Zone residents who are critical of the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification reflect a pattern of feeling essentially similar to that of his critics in West Germany. Throughout all of Germany most people fasten upon his "lack of initiative" and attitude towards the East.

> "Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"
>
> IF "Dissatisfied" of "Very dissatisfied":
> "What are you dissatisfied with? Could you give an example?"

SUMMARY TABLE

	East Zoners Sept. 1956	West German Cross-Section Aug. 1956
His lack of initiative	10%	10%
The Chancellor's rigid attitude	6	6
His close affiliation with the West	5	2
Introduction of military service	3	4
His refusal to negotiate with the East Zone government	3	2
The outlawing of the Communist party	2	-
His authoritarian tendencies	1	-
Other answers	1	2
No opinion, no answer	*	2
	31%@	28%@

* Less than one half of one percent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

COMMENTS IN DETAIL....

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

IF "Dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied":
"What are you dissatisfied with? Could you give an example?"

	East Zoners
His lack of initiative:	10%

"He moves too slowly. Only now after six months has a memorandum on the reunification issue been sent to the Soviets."
"It seems to me West Germany has written off the East Zone, for they keep putting us off with promises. There is a lot of talk, but nothing is ever done."
"We feel that things move too slowly. Three years ago we were told that in only a short while reunification would be accomplished."

The Chancellor's rigid attitude:	6

"The government under Adenauer could perhaps make more concessions to the Russians, then they might be more inclined to give the green light to reunification. But Adenauer is too stubborn."
"I'm of the opinion that the policy of strength is no suitable means for pushing reunfification. I believe that we would have made greater progress if we had employed a little more diplomacy especially in this matter."
"Adenauer should be more yielding and should negotiate. He won't achieve reunification just by clinging to an ironbound policy. The Russians are too strong for that."
"Maybe Adenauer follows too rigid a course. He should be more flexible and adapt his policy to the changing international situation."

He is too strongly influenced by the West:	5

"Adenauer sides too uncompromisingly with the West. Not everything is bad over there in the East Zone, after all."
"He shouldn't always let the Western Powers dictate to him."
"He isn't the right man to guide Germany's destiny, for he relies too strongly on the Americans."
"He does exactly what his American backers who provide him with the necessary funds tell him to do."
"I take exception to his rigid adhering to the NATO system."

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	East Zoners
Introduction of military service:	3%

"For us in the East, introducing military service in the West was like pulling the rug out from under our feet. Now everything is lost."
"By setting up an army in West Germany, Adenauer jeopardizes reunification."
"The introduction of military service was a false move on the part of West Germany. Though, to be frank, I admit that we started with rearming. But one knows where all this leads. Experience taught it. And besides, the rearmament program seriously hinders reunification."

His refusal to negotiate with the East Zone government:	3

"I was dissatisfied with Adenauer refusing to conduct preliminary negotiations with the DDR."
"Adenauer should negotiate with the Pankow government as Grotewohl demands. Then we will achieve reunification in no time. Afterwards free elections ought to be held, and then all those dismal phantoms will be swept away. I'm speaking of the SED bigwigs and their cronies."
"It doesn't make sense that this guy refuses to negotiated with our government. Why is that so? Is he afraid?"

The outlawing of the Communist party:	2

"Now after the Communist party has been banned, the East is even less willing to negotiate."
"Everything he does serves to slow down reunification even more. I'm thinking of the outlawing of the KPD."
"By banning the Communist party, Adenauer has become unpopular in our Zone. This certainly wasn't a democratic action. Through it, prospects for reuniting Germany have become dimmer."

With his authoritarian tendencies:	1

"Adenauer is too strong willed. He should be ready to lend an ear to the opposition occasionally, to Ollenhauer, that is."
"I dislike it that he never gives the opposition a chance to state their point of view on a matter, but always presents them with faits accomplis."
"I'm dissatisfied with Adenauer's authoritarian tendencies."

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	East Zoners
Other answers:	1%
"Adenauer should exert his influence on the Americans so that they will get tougher with the Russians."	
"The old man should resign. He is a die-hard conservative."	
"He should turn to one of the great powers which is neutral in this matter and should ask it to arrange free elections under international supervision."	
No opinion, no answer:	*
	31%@

* Less than one half of one percent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX

"As far as you can judge, would you say that conditions in East Germany have improved recently, or wouldn't you say so?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone visitors:	47%	53%	*%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	47	53	*	226
Women	47	53	-	274
Education:				
Elementary school	43	57	*	321
Beyond elementary	54	46	-	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	59	41	-	59
25 to 34 years	52	47	1	89
35 to 44 years	49	51	-	103
45 to 54 years	49	51	-	115
55 years and over	35	65	-	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	58	42	-	45
Businessmen	40	60	-	65
White collar workers	46	54	-	70
Skilled laborers	55	44	1	64
Semi-skilled laborers	40	60	-	30
Domestic service	55	45	-	11
Farmers;farmhands	50	50	-	26
Housewives	43	57	-	132
Pensioners;retired	42	58	-	38
Students;apprentices	58	42	-	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	44	56	-	74
Sachsen	45	55	-	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	50	49	1	124
Thueringen	44	56	-	80
Mecklenburg	51	49	-	59

* Less than one half of one percent

"There is a lot of talk alleging an improvement in the food situation in the DDR. In your opinion, has the food situation improved the past six months or not?"

	Has improved	Has not improved	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors	36%	63%	1%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	34	65	1	226
Women	37	62	1	274
Education:				
Elementary school	35	65	*	321
Beyond elementary	36	61	3	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	39	59	2	59
25 to 34 years	37	60	3	89
35 to 44 years	44	55	1	103
45 to 54 years	34	64	2	115
55 years and over	28	72	-	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	27	66	7	43
Businessmen	28	70	2	65
White-collar workers	36	63	1	70
Skilled laborers	39	59	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	33	67	-	30
Domestic service	45	55	-	11
Farmers;farmhands	27	73	-	26
Housewives	41	58	1	132
Pensioners;retired	32	68	-	38
Students; apprentices	53	47	-	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	31	69	-	74
Sachsen	42	57	1	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	31	66	3	124
Thueringen	33	66	1	80
Mecklenburg	37	61	2	59

* Less than one half of one percent

"There is a lot of talk alleging an improvement in the legal conditions in the DDR. In your opinion, have the legal conditions improved in the past six months or not?"

	Has improved	Has not improved	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone visitors	32%	51%	11% ..100%	500
Sex:				
Men	36	53	11	226
Women	29	50	21	274
Education:				
Elementary school	33	51	16	321
Beyond elementary	31	52	17	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	32	48	20	59
25 to 34 years	36	40	24	89
35 to 44 years	36	48	16	103
45 to 54 years	34	48	18	115
55 years and over	25	65	10	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	31	45	24	45
Businessmen	26	63	11	65
White-collar workers	43	50	7	70
Skilled laborers	45	46	9	64
Semi-skilled laborers	27	50	23	30
Domestic service	27	36	37	11
Farmers;farmhands	42	50	8	26
Housewives	30	49	21	132
Pensioners;retired	21	63	16	38
Students;apprentices	10	53	37	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	38	50	12	74
Sachsen	29	51	20	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	28	57	15	124
Thueringen	31	49	20	80
Mecklenburg	42	46	12	59

"There is a lot of talk alleging an improvement in the responsibility of local authorities in the DDR. In your opinion, has the responsibility of local authorities improved in the past six months or not?"

	Has improved	Has not improved	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	38%	47%	15%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	41	49	10	226
Women	35	46	19	274
Education:				
Elementary school	33	52	15	321
Beyond elementary	45	40	15	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	49	36	15	59
25 to 34 years	45	38	17	89
35 to 44 years	32	48	20	103
45 to 54 years	43	44	13	115
55 years and over	28	61	11	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	44	38	18	45
Businessmen	40	49	11	65
White-collar workers	46	40	14	70
Skilled laborers	44	47	9	64
Semi-skilled laborers	20	70	10	30
Domestic service	27	46	27	11
Farmers;farmhands	42	46	12	26
Housewives	35	47	18	132
Pensioners;retired	21	66	13	38
Students;apprentices	42	26	32	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	36	50	14	74
Sachsen	43	43	14	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	25	57	18	124
Thueringen	46	36	18	80
Mecklenburg	39	49	12	59

"There is a lot of talk alleging an improvement in the food situation in the DDR. Do you think that during the next six months there will be improvements in this sector, as the government of the DDR promises?"

	Will improve	Will not improve	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	22%	66%	12%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	23	66	11	226
Women	22	66	12	274
Education:				
Elementary school	22	68	10	321
Beyond elementary	24	61	15	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	34	59	7	59
25 to 34 years	24	65	11	89
35 to 44 years	22	64	14	103
45 to 54 years	28	60	12	115
55 years and over	12	76	12	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	22	69	9	45
Businessmen	18	65	17	65
White-collar workers	27	62	11	70
Skilled laborers	28	66	6	64
Semi-skilled laborers	23	60	17	30
Domestic service	27	36	37	11
Farmers;farmhands	8	84	8	26
Housewives	22	68	10	132
Pensioners;retired	18	71	11	38
Students;apprentices	26	58	16	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	18	73	9	74
Sachsen	25	63	12	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	15	69	16	124
Thueringen	29	64	7	80
Mecklenburg	27	63	10	59

"There is a lot of talk alleging an improvement in the legal conditions in the DDR. Do you think that during the next six months there will be an improvement in this sector, as the government of the DDR promises?"

	Will improve	Will not improve	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	18%	58%	24%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	18	60	22	226
Women	18	57	25	274
Education:				
Elementary school	18	60	22	321
Beyond elementary	19	54	27	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	17	61	22	59
25 to 34 years	19	55	26	89
35 to 44 years	21	54	25	103
45 to 54 years	19	50	31	115
55 years and over	15	69	16	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	24	49	27	45
Businessmen	9	60	31	65
White-collar workers	30	53	17	70
Skilled laborers	22	56	22	64
Semi-skilled laborers	13	57	30	30
Domestic service	18	36	46	11
Farmers;farmhands	23	73	4	26
Housewives	16	61	23	132
Pensioners;retired	13	63	24	38
Students;apprentices	5	63	32	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	14	70	16	74
Sachsen	18	57	25	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	17	57	26	124
Thueringen	21	54	25	80
Mecklenburg	22	54	24	59

"There is a lot of talk alleging an improvement in the responsibility of local authorities in the DDR. Do you think that during the next six months there will be an improvement in this sector, as the government of the DDR promises?"

	Will improve	Will not improve	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	25%	56%	19%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	25	60	15	226
Women	25	53	22	274
Education:				
Elementary school	24	59	17	321
Beyond elementary	28	50	22	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	37	51	12	59
25 to 34 years	26	56	18	89
35 to 44 years	22	54	24	103
45 to 54 years	27	49	24	115
55 years and over	20	67	13	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	27	51	22	45
Businessmen	15	62	23	65
White-collar workers	38	46	16	70
Skilled laborers	33	53	14	64
Semi-skilled laborers	20	67	13	30
Domestic service	27	46	27	11
Farmers;farmhands	19	69	12	26
Housewives	24	56	20	132
Pensioners;retired	13	66	21	38
Students;apprentices	32	47	21	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	22	66	12	74
Sachsen	27	56	17	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	19	58	23	124
Thueringen	30	46	24	80
Mecklenburg	34	51	15	59

"Please tell me how you feel about each of the following opinions: Do you believe that these assertions are correct, or not?"

"The destruction of the Stalin myth shows that the Soviets are ridding their political system of the inhumanities which had become the rule under Stalin."

	Correct	Not correct	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	30%	55%	15%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	32	60	8	226
Women	29	50	21	274
Education:				
Elementary school	30	51	19	321
Beyond elementary	31	60	9	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	42	49	9	59
25 to 34 years	35	47	18	89
35 to 44 years	26	62	12	103
45 to 54 years	33	49	18	115
55 years and over	22	62	16	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	40	49	11	45
Businessmen	20	66	14	65
White-collar workers	31	63	6	70
Skilled laborers	47	47	6	64
Semi-skilled laborers	30	47	23	30
Domestic service	-	64	36	11
Farmers;farmhands	23	69	8	26
Housewives	29	51	20	132
Pensioners;retired	16	55	29	38
Students;apprentices	47	37	16	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	28	54	18	74
Sachsen	31	58	11	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	25	56	19	124
Thueringen	35	47	18	80
Mecklenburg	36	50	14	59

"Please tell me how you feel about each of the following opinions: Do you believe that these assertions are correct, or not?"

"The sole aim of the cultural exchange recently initiated by the Russians is to impart to other nations a better understanding of Russian culture."

	Correct	Not correct	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	29%	53%	18%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	34	57	9	226
Women	26	49	25	274
Education:				
Elementary school	26	50	24	321
Beyond elementary	35	57	8	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	41	44	15	59
25 to 34 years	30	52	18	89
35 to 44 years	26	63	11	103
45 to 54 years	34	43	23	115
55 years and over	22	57	21	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	38	55	7	45
Businessmen	26	65	9	65
White-collar workers	39	54	7	70
Skilled laborers	47	45	8	64
Semi-skilled laborers	30	43	27	30
Domestic service	-	64	36	11
Farmers;farmhands	12	69	19	26
Housewives	22	48	30	132
Pensioners;retired	21	47	32	38
Students;apprentices	37	47	16	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	19	59	22	74
Sachsen	36	52	12	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	22	57	21	124
Thueringen	35	40	25	80
Mecklenburg	34	51	15	59

"Please tell me how you feel about each of the following opinions: Do you believe that these assertions are correct, or not?"

"The Russians will agree to the reunification of Germany provided all-Germany does not join a Western military alliance"

	Correct	Not correct	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	34%	56%	10%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	37	57	6	226
Women	31	54	15	274
Education:				
Elementary school	31	55	14	321
Beyond elementary	39	55	6	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	41	52	7	59
25 to 34 years	36	51	13	89
35 to 44 years	37	56	7	103
45 to 54 years	33	53	14	115
55 years and over	27	62	11	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	35	56	9	45
Businessmen	32	62	6	65
White-collar workers	34	57	9	70
Skilled workers	45	55	-	64
Semi-skilled workers	40	40	20	30
Domestic service	18	64	18	11
Farmers;farmhands	42	50	8	26
Housewives	27	58	15	132
Pensioners;retired	29	50	21	38
Students;apprentices	37	53	10	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	26	58	16	74
Sachsen	41	53	6	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	25	63	12	124
Thueringen	35	50	15	80
Mecklenburg	39	51	10	59

"In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame for Germany still being divided: The West or the East?"

	West	East	Both equally to blame	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	3%	57%	36%	4%....100%	500
Sex:					
Men	4	53	40	3	226
Women	2	60	32	6	274
Education:					
Elementary school	2	58	34	6	321
Beyond elementary	4	55	38	3	179
Age:					
Up to 24 years	5	48	39	8	59
25 to 34 years	1	44	52	3	89
35 to 44 years	2	65	32	1	103
45 to 54 years	3	54	37	6	115
55 years and over	3	67	25	5	134
Occupation:					
Professionals	7	47	42	4	45
Businessmen	2	58	34	6	65
White-collar workers	1	69	29	1	70
Skilled laborers	2	50	46	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	-	37	50	13	30
Domestic service	-	64	27	9	11
Farmers;farmhands	-	61	35	4	26
Housewives	3	61	33	3	132
Pensioners;retired	3	58	31	8	38
Students;apprentices	11	52	26	11	19
Land:					
Brandenburg	1	58	38	3	74
Sachsen	1	59	36	4	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	4	53	37	6	124
Thueringen	4	52	36	8	80
Mecklenburg	5	65	27	3	59

"Which way, do you think, reunification is more likely to be achieved: through negotiations between the West German Federal Government and the DDR, or through negotiations between the Western Powers and Russia?"

	Through negotiations between West German Gov't and the DDR	Through negotiations between Western Powers and Russia	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	23%	67%	10%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	22	71	7	226
Women	25	64	11	274
Education:				
Elementary school	24	64	12	321
Beyond elementary	23	71	6	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	43	49	8	59
25 to 34 years	30	61	9	89
35 to 44 years	18	72	10	103
45 to 54 years	24	65	11	115
55 years and over	14	77	9	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	29	55	16	45
Businessmen	8	84	8	65
White-collar workers	27	67	6	70
Skilled laborers	31	63	6	64
Semi-skilled laborers	23	64	13	30
Domestic service	9	55	36	11
Farmers;farmhands	8	84	8	26
Housewives	24	65	11	132
Pensioners;retired	26	63	11	38
Students;apprentices	42	58	-	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	22	69	9	74
Sachsen	23	69	8	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	24	64	12	124
Thueringen	24	65	11	80
Mecklenburg	24	69	7	59

"How long, do you think, it will take until reunification occurs? Do you believe we will achieve reunification within the next 1 to 2 years, 3 to 5 years, withing the next 5 to 10 years, or do you believe it will take even longer?"

	1 to 2 years	3 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	Even longer	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	22%	26%	11%	32%	9%...100%	500
Sex:						
Men	20	27	13	31	9	226
Women	23	25	9	34	9	274
Education:						
Elementary school	22	26	10	33	9	321
Beyond elementary	21	26	12	32	9	179
Age:						
Up to 24 years	24	32	17	22	5	59
25 to 34 years	20	28	6	39	7	89
35 to 44 years	18	29	10	34	9	103
45 to 54 years	23	28	10	31	8	115
55 years and over	23	18	13	32	14	134
Occupation:						
Professional	13	15	18	38	16	45
Businessmen	20	20	12	39	9	65
White-collar workers	31	29	7	30	3	70
Skilled laborers	17	31	16	30	6	64
Semi-skilled laborers	13	30	10	37	10	30
Domestic service	-	37	9	36	18	11
Farmers;farmhands	31	35	4	15	15	26
Housewives	20	26	8	37	9	132
Pensioners;retired	29	21	16	21	13	38
Students;apprentices	32	32	10	21	5	19
Land:						
Brandenburg	23	26	11	27	13	74
Sachsen	24	26	11	31	8	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	15	24	12	40	9	124
Thueringen	26	29	13	21	11	80
Mecklenburg	20	25	7	43	5	59

"Do you think that a reunited Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

	Side of the West	Side of the East	Neither side	Don't know	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	64%	2%	32%	2%...100%	500
Sex:					
Men	64	4	30	2	226
Women	64	1	33	2	274
Education:					
Elementary school	66	1	31	2	321
Beyond elementary	62	3	33	2	179
Age:					
Up to 24 years	57	3	35	5	59
25 to 34 years	54	1	43	2	89
35 to 44 years	63	-	36	1	103
45 to 54 years	67	2	28	3	115
55 years and over	73	4	22	1	134
Occupation:					
Professionals	51	9	33	7	45
Businessmen	63	2	35	-	65
White-collar workers	72	1	23	4	70
Skilled laborers	62	2	36	-	64
Semi-skilled laborers	63	-	34	3	30
Domestic service	55	-	45	-	11
Farmers;farmhands	84	-	12	4	26
Housewives	62	1	36	1	132
Pensioners;retired	74	3	20	3	38
Students;apprentices	48	5	42	5	19
Land:					
Brandenburg	63	1	35	1	74
Sachsen	64	2	32	2	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	66	2	30	2	124
Thueringen	67	1	31	1	80
Mecklenburg	61	2	32	5	59

"Now I would like to ask you a few questions as to whether you would be willing to accept the following things as part of the price for reunification at the present time?"

"Would you be willing, for the sake of reunification, to accept the present leaders of the East Zone government as members of an all-German government, or wouldn't you?"

	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion	No. of cases
East German Visitors:	25%	70%	5%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	28	70	2	226
Women	23	70	7	274
Education:				
Elementary school	24	71	5	321
Beyond elementary	27	69	4	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	27	68	5	59
25 to 34 years	35	58	7	89
35 to 44 years	30	70	-	103
45 to 54 years	25	66	9	115
55 years and over	14	83	3	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	22	71	7	45
Businessmen	19	81	-	65
White-collar workers	27	69	4	70
Skilled laborers	34	63	3	64
Semi-skilled laborers	37	53	10	30
Domestic service	27	64	9	11
Farmers;farmhands	27	73	-	26
Housewives	20	75	5	132
Pensioners;retired	26	66	8	38
Students;apprentices	26	69	5	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	24	69	7	74
Sachsen	29	69	2	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	24	72	4	124
Thueringen	24	66	10	80
Mecklenburg	20	78	2	59

"Now I would like to ask you a few questions as to whether you would be willing to accept the following things as part of the price for reunification at the present time?"

"Would you, in order to achieve reunification, recognize the present leaders of the East Zone as conferees, or wouldn't you?"

	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	26%	72%	2%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	27	72	1	226
Women	25	72	3	274
Education:				
Elementary school	24	74	2	321
Beyond elementary	30	69	1	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	41	59	-	59
25 to 34 years	29	68	3	89
35 to 44 years	30	69	1	103
45 to 54 years	28	70	2	115
55 years and over	13	84	3	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	31	65	4	45
Businessmen	20	80	-	65
White-collar workers	26	73	1	70
Skilled laborers	33	67	-	64
Semi-skilled laborers	23	70	7	30
Domestic service	46	54	-	11
Farmers'farmhands	23	77	-	26
Housewives	23	75	2	132
Pensioners;retired	21	71	8	38
Students;apprentices	37	63	-	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	30	69	1	74
Sachsen	29	69	2	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	21	77	2	124
Thueringen	31	64	5	80
Mecklenburg	17	83	-	59

"Now I would like to ask you a few questions as to whether you would be willing to accept the following things as part of the price for reunification at the present time?"

"And would you be willing, for the sake of reunification, to accept some other non-democratic form of government, or wouldn't you?"

	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	13%	79%	8%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	10	86	4	226
Women	15	73	12	274
Education:				
Elementary school	13	76	11	321
Beyond elementary	13	84	3	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	14	79	7	59
25 to 34 years	16	77	7	89
35 to 44 years	10	84	6	103
45 to 54 years	17	75	8	115
55 years and over	10	79	11	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	7	91	2	45
Businessmen	11	86	3	65
White-collar workers	16	83	1	70
Skilled laborers	9	88	3	64
Semi-skilled laborers	10	70	20	30
Domestic service	18	73	9	11
Farmers;farmhands	19	77	4	26
Housewives	17	72	11	132
Pensioners;retired	8	71	21	38
Students;apprentices	5	74	21	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	11	82	7	74
Sachsen	12	79	9	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	11	82	7	124
Thueringen	18	71	11	80
Mecklenburg	15	80	5	59

"Now I would like to ask you a few questions as to whether you would be willing to accept the following things as part of the price for reunification at the present time?"

"And would you be willing, for the sake of reunification at the present time, to accept an all-German election which would not be as free as those in West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	8%	88%	4%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	10	89	1	226
Women	6	88	6	274
Education:				
Elementary school	7	89	4	321
Beyond elementary	10	88	2	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	12	86	2	59
25 to 34 years	7	87	6	89
35 to 44 years	8	89	3	103
45 to 54 years	11	85	4	115
55 years and over	4	93	3	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	4	96	-	45
Businessmen	12	85	3	65
White-collar workers	6	91	3	70
Skilled laborers	16	82	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	10	87	3	30
Domestic service	-	91	9	11
Farmers;farmhands	8	88	4	26
Housewives	6	89	5	132
Pensioners;retired	3	89	8	38
Students;apprentices	5	95	-	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	8	89	3	74
Sachsen	9	88	3	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	5	91	4	124
Thueringen	9	85	6	80
Mecklenburg	10	88	2	59

"Do you know whether universal conscription has been reintroduced in the Federal Republic, or not?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	75%	17%	8%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	80	16	4	226
Women	72	17	11	274
Education:				
Elementary school	69	20	11	321
Beyond elementary	86	11	3	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	81	14	5	59
25 to 34 years	70	26	4	89
35 to 44 years	76	15	9	103
45 to 54 years	74	17	9	115
55 years and over	76	13	11	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	82	16	2	45
Businessmen	83	12	5	65
White-collar workers	74	20	6	70
Skilled laborers	78	11	11	64
Semi-skilled workers	43	40	17	30
Domestic service	82	9	9	11
Farmers;farmhands	81	15	4	26
Housewives	75	17	8	132
Pensioners;retired	60	16	24	38
Students;apprentices	95	5	-	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	80	11	9	74
Sachsen	72	18	10	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	73	21	6	124
Thueringen	77	14	9	80
Mecklenburg	81	14	5	59

"Do you see in the introduction of military service in the Federal Republic a danger for the reunification of Germany, or don't you?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	23%	73%	4%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	24	76	*	226
Women	22	70	8	274
Education:				
Elementary school	19	74	7	321
Beyond elementary	30	70	-	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	39	59	2	59
25 to 34 years	34	61	5	89
35 to 44 years	23	70	7	103
45 to 54 years	20	76	4	115
55 years and over	10	86	4	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	31	69	-	45
Businessmen	17	83	-	65
White-collar workers	26	73	1	70
Skilled laborers	34	64	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	27	73	-	30
Domestic service	9	73	18	11
Farmers;farmhands	4	92	4	26
Housewives	20	73	7	132
Pensioners;retired	11	71	18	38
Students;apprentices	42	53	5	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	20	73	7	74
Sachsen	24	74	2	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	19	78	3	124
Thueringen	24	67	9	80
Mecklenburg	27	68	5	59

* Less than one half of one percent.

"Taking everything into consideration, do you approve of the Federal Republic having introduced military service, or don't you approve of it?"

	Approve	Don't approve	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	59%	37%	4%...100%	500
Sex:				
Men	63	35	2	226
Women	54	39	7	274
Education:				
Elementary school	60	34	6	321
Beyond elementary	55	43	2	179
Age:				
Up to 24 years	49	46	5	59
25 to 34 years	43	54	3	89
35 to 44 years	52	43	5	103
45 to 54 years	59	37	4	115
55 years and over	78	18	4	134
Occupation:				
Professionals	58	40	2	45
Businessmen	60	35	5	65
White-collar workers	59	41	-	70
Skilled laborers	53	45	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	53	37	10	30
Domestic service	73	27	-	11
Farmers;farmhands	73	15	12	26
Housewives	60	38	2	132
Pensioners;retired	56	26	18	38
Students;apprentices	53	42	5	19
Land:				
Brandenburg	62	35	3	74
Sachsen	54	42	4	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	64	30	6	124
Thueringen	51	46	3	80
Mecklenburg	66	29	5	59

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?" (CARD)

	Very high/ high	Fair/ Mediocre	Low/ very low	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	56%	29%	6%	9%...100%	500
Sex:					
Men	57	33	6	4	226
Women	55	27	5	13	274
Education:					
Elementary school	58	28	4	10	321
Beyond elementary	55	31	8	6	179
Age:					
Up to 24 years	44	46	5	5	59
25 to 34 years	43	37	7	13	89
35 to 44 years	58	30	5	7	103
45 to 54 years	58	23	11	8	115
55 years and over	68	22	1	9	134
Occupation:					
Professionals	49	33	9	9	45
Businessmen	71	17	6	6	65
White-collar workers	56	37	3	4	70
Skilled laborers	52	34	9	5	64
Semi-skilled laborers	43	44	3	10	30
Domestic service	73	9	-	18	11
Farmers;farmhands	57	31	-	12	26
Housewives	56	26	8	10	132
Pensioners;retired	63	21	-	16	38
Students;apprentices	37	47	5	11	19
Land:					
Brandenburg	57	31	4	8	74
Sachsen	59	29	6	6	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	56	25	4	15	124
Thueringen	50	34	7	9	80
Mecklenburg	59	31	7	3	59

[redacted]

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification? (IF 'Satisfied': very satisfied or fairly satisfied?) IF 'Dissatisfied': Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Dis-satisfied	Very dis-satisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
East Zone Visitors:	25%	41%	20%	4%	10%..100%	500
Sex:						
Men	22	46	23	4	5	226
Women	27	37	19	3	14	274
Education:						
Elementary school	28	42	17	3	10	321
Beyond elementary	19	40	27	6	8	179
Age:						
Up to 24 years	14	57	20	2	7	59
25 to 34 years	16	46	25	2	11	89
35 to 44 years	28	38	19	5	10	103
45 to 54 years	20	45	23	5	7	115
55 years and over	38	30	17	3	12	134
Occupation:						
Professionals	16	36	24	11	13	45
Businessmen	31	47	11	5	6	65
White-collar workers	21	43	30	-	6	70
Skilled laborers	17	50	24	3	6	64
Semi-skilled laborers	20	60	17	-	3	30
Domestic service	36	37	9	9	9	11
Farmers;farmhands	19	47	15	4	15	26
Housewives	33	33	20	4	10	132
Pensioners;retired	26	29	16	3	26	38
Students;apprentices	21	47	32	-	-	19
Land:						
Brandenburg	35	29	24	3	9	74
Sachsen	22	47	21	3	7	163
Sachsen/Anhalt	22	42	18	6	12	124
Thueringen	24	41	20	3	12	80
Mecklenburg	31	39	20	3	7	59

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